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person coming to town send him to me. As to funds,—orders may either be drawn on the Quarter Master General here, or if you prefer it, I will send you any amount you may require in an order on the Agent at Hamburg, for which you may render an account hereafter. On this point let me know your wishes. May it not be worthy of enquiry whether Arms of some sort could not be picked up in Augusta. Get some Merchant to enquire. I annex the orders you require.

In haste y<sup>rs</sup> truly

ROB. Y. HAYNE.

P. S. There is no objection at all to your taking com<sup>d</sup> of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. As to the encampment, it must not be *ordered*, and if by gen<sup>l</sup> consent I think it had better not exceed one or two companies at a time.

(*To be continued.*)

### 3. *A Ministerial Crisis in France, 1876.*

IN 1873 France was passing through one of the most redoubtable crises of her domestic history. Thiers had succeeded in freeing French territory from the last consequences of the Prussian invasion and was enjoying the country's approbation when the Monarchist majority of the Assembly decided to reward his services by depriving him of the Presidency of the Republic. The unpopularity thus rashly incurred by the Monarchists was destined irretrievably to ruin their hopes.

On May 24, the Royalists managed to secure the election of Marshal de MacMahon as President of the Republic, and the Duc de Broglie became prime minister.

In November 1873 the National Assembly was called upon to discuss a bill, historically known as the "Septennial Bill," and designed to prolong Marshal de MacMahon's tenure of power for a period of seven years. During the debates M. Jules Simon spoke with a thrilling and fiery eloquence that surpassed all his previous oratory. He vehemently protested against conferring such powers on a man who personified no tradition and whose past could boast of no special glory, who had neither the prestige of the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris, both of royal race, nor the genius of Napoleon. In spite of this impassioned protest, the prolongation of the Marshal's tenure of power was voted as a consequence of the failure of the Monarchist plans of amalgamation; and, after the elections of 1876, which were a definitive success for the Republican party, Marshal de MacMahon formed a cabinet with M. Dufaure as prime minister.

Nine months later, namely in December 1876, M. Dufaure's

ministry was defeated in the Senate over a Public Education Bill ; and M. de Marcère, who was Minister for the Interior, was compelled to withdraw from the cabinet, owing to an incident concerning the military honors to be paid to deceased members of the Legion of Honor.

Though M. Dufaure's ministerial stability was weakened by the vote of the Senate, the Marshal did not consider the matter important enough to warrant a government crisis. Being anxious to retain M. Dufaure in the cabinet, he thought it sufficient merely to arrange for the substitution of another minister for M. Marcère in the Interior Department. With this in view, on December 9, 1876, the President summoned a meeting of the cabinet for half-past nine in evening, at the Elysée. The only minister who was not invited was M. Dufaure, he being in the country for a rest.

I am able to publish for the first time the minutes of this cabinet meeting, which have great historic value as revealing Marshal de MacMahon in a light somewhat new and unexpected, at the same time that they add fresh information to what is already known of this episode in the parliamentary history of the Third Republic. These minutes were very accurately set down, and addressed to M. Jules Simon, by one of the most distinguished of the former ministers present at the meeting, who is now dead, but whose name I am not at liberty to reveal. The only survivor of those present is M. Christophle, now, as then, deputy. These minutes were dictated to the minister's wife, the original document, which I have seen, being in a feminine handwriting.

It is well known that this meeting resulted in a *statu quo* of the cabinet, save that M. Jules Simon replaced M. Dufaure as prime minister, taking also M. de Marcère's functions at the Interior Department, while M. Martel, who later became President of the Senate, succeeded M. Dufaure as Minister of Justice. The fall of this cabinet, six months later, precipitated by Marshal MacMahon's famous letter of May 16, addressed to M. Jules Simon, brought on the crisis of "the sixteenth of May," which came so near ending the Third Republic.

THEODORE STANTON.

ON December 9, 1876, Marshal MacMahon convoked a Council at the Elysée, at which were present: The Duc Decazes, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; Vice-Admiral Fourichon, Minister of Marine ; M. Teisserenc de Bort, Minister of Agriculture ; M. Léon Say, Minister of Finance ; M. Christophle, Minister of Public Works ; and M. Waddington, Minister of Public Instruction.

The Marshal began by reading a letter from M. Dufaure, the prime

minister, in which he stated that he was very much fatigued, that he could not come to Paris, and that he was disposed to give up the portfolio of the Minister for Public Worship, while keeping that of the Minister of Justice, and to offer the portfolio of the Minister for the Home Department to M. Jules Simon. After having read this letter, the Marshal asked the ministers present whether they would accept the combination. The Duc Decazes then proposed that there should be a private conference between the ministers before giving a reply to the Marshal, and M. Léon Say asked that the fullest explanations should take place in the presence of the President of the Republic. The Marshal then pointed out the situation in which he was placed. He said :—

“I am placed in a very difficult position. If the country declared itself against me, I would resign. I did not plot in order to get into power, and I make no point of honor in politics. But the majority of one of the Chambers is not the whole country, and I am doing my utmost to govern with the Left Centre. I have called to office the most important man.<sup>1</sup> There is only one of greater importance, namely M. Thiers. I could not nominate M. Thiers as minister. In such a case I could only myself withdraw. I am quite willing, however, to go further. I consent to proposals being made to M. Jules Simon. If anyone had told me, six months ago, that I should accept M. Simon as minister, it would have astonished me very much indeed.

“You may think perhaps that I am vexed with M. Simon on account of what he has said about me. That is a mistake. I should not have spoken of myself otherwise than as M. Jules Simon has spoken of me. He has said that I have not the prestige of the Count of Chambord, who is the representative of the royal line ; that is perfectly true. He has said that I have not the prestige of the Count of Paris who, after the Count of Chambord, represents the royal family ; also that I have not the prestige that Napoleon possessed by virtue of his genius. All this is perfectly true—I should have said exactly the same of myself. I have no spite against M. Jules Simon. But if you do not wish me to make proposals to him, what can I do ? I shall be compelled to issue a manifesto, announce to the country that the Left Centre is unwilling to remain in office, and that it is not pleased because I accept M. Simon. Then it will be quite natural to hold elections, when it will not be as it was with M. Buffet, who said very much, but who, in fact, did nothing to influence the elections. I think it will be necessary to act, and to act vigorously.

“I will not go further to the Left than M. Jules Simon. M. Gambetta has caused a ministerial list to be laid before me, with M. Duclerc as President of the Council, and M. Lepère, M. Leroyer, and M. de Freycinet as Ministers. There was also the name of M. Waddington. They would very much have liked to get rid of M. Léon Say, but they felt bound to retain him.

<sup>1</sup> M. Dufaure.

"This list was brought to me by General Borel, who knew Freycinet during the war. He felt that the latter was unjustly criticized. He was not a Napoleon, but he accomplished much. General Borel defended him before the Commission of Enquiry on the Conduct of the War. Later on, Freycinet, who was grateful to him, proposed to him that he should have him (Borel) named one of the seventy-five life-members of the Senate. But Borel, who belonged to the Right, did not wish to be in any way pledged to the Left. So as Borel did not wish to be on this ticket, another general had to be found. It was General Gresley, whom I like very much, and who is a very distinguished man.

"You understand that it is impossible for me to let my ministry be formed by Gambetta, and as M. Gambetta has proposed M. Duclerc, I shall not accept the Duclerc combination.

"There are, moreover, other reasons. I like M. Duclerc very much. He has rendered us great services as President of the Bankruptcy Court. He always wished to bring Gambetta and me together. One day he proposed to me an interview, and, in order that it should excite no remark, I was to meet him, as if by chance, in the Bois de Boulogne, with M. Gambetta. But I did not wish it, any more than I should have wished any other interview. The Count of Chambord came one day to Versailles, even into my ante-room, within twenty steps of my cabinet. He was with one of my friends, who came and told me that the Count of Chambord was there. But I replied that I could not see him, in spite of my great respect for him. His grandfather treated kindly my family, who came originally from Ireland, and he also created my father and my brother peers of France. But as President of the Republic, I could not see him, neither did I wish to do so. Prince Napoleon also asked for another interview with me which I refused.

"I will not therefore take M. Duclerc; but since I accept M. Jules Simon, what more can be asked of me?"

M. Waddington remarked that the important thing to know was, whether they were strong enough to fight Gambetta. It was very certain that he led the Chamber. One could try to deprive him of this leadership, but could M. Dufaure resume his own sway? Thereupon the Marshal interrupted him by saying: "But if you do not want M. Dufaure, what do you wish me to do?"

M. Teisserenc replied that he was the intimate friend of M. Dufaure, and that the point was not to know whether he or his friends wished to be with M. Dufaure (about which there could be no doubt whatever), but whether M. Dufaure could reappear before the Chambers with a cabinet in which M. de Marcère, Minister of the Interior, would be simply replaced by another minister for that department. Public opinion had set General Berthaut, Minister of War, and M. de Marcère, in opposition to each other. If M. de Marcère were rejected, and General Berthaut were to remain, there would at once be an interpellation in the Chamber.

The Marshal replied that he made no point of honor in politics, as he had already remarked, and that one of his friends, who was a very

sensible adviser, an ex-member of the National Assembly, had always insisted upon that with him ; but in the case of General Berthaut it was quite another thing. Here there was a real point of honor. It was impossible to abandon him. First of all, one could not change a Minister of War every six months, for if foreign affairs became complicated, it would be most dangerous.

Finally the Marshal strongly insisted upon knowing whether or not they refused to allow him to make overtures to M. Simon.

M. Christophle thought that it would probably be useless, but all the other ministers did not share this opinion.

M. Teisserenc remarked that there had been a question of inviting M. Bardoux to a seat in the cabinet, and that it was also very necessary to make an offer to him.

The Marshal said that he would write to that effect to M. Dufaure without delay.

M. Léon Say remarked that there was a point which affected him personally, and which had not been touched upon. The Marshal had said that General Berthaut and M. de Marcère could not remain together in the same cabinet on account of what had taken place at the sitting of December 2. It was necessary that the Marshal should know what took place at that sitting. There were only three ministers on the ministerial bench. M. Christophle was at one extremity surrounded by his general-advisers ; at the other extremity were seated M. de Marcère and M. Léon Say. When M. Laussedat presented his order of the day, M. de Marcère learned towards M. Léon Say to ask his opinion. M. Léon Say's advice had been to accept it. If therefore to-day M. de Marcère went out of the cabinet because he had accepted this order of the day, it would be difficult to understand why M. Léon Say should remain.

The Marshal replied that there was nothing official in that, that no one need know whether there had been any understanding between them or not, and that after all M. Léon Say could not go out of the cabinet, because M. Dufaure had said that he would not remain in it without him.

The council broke up at eleven o'clock, and was adjourned until the result of the interviews with M. Dufaure and M. Jules Simon should be known.